

# International Bulletin

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## Whatever Happened to Arab Unity?

In the month since the Sinai interim disengagement pact was accepted by Israel and Egypt, the Arab unity—once dramatically symbolized by the 1973 oil embargo and unanimous Arab League support for the Palestine Liberation Organization—has vanished. Egypt has silenced the PLO's Voice of Palestine radio service in Cairo—substituting pro-Kissinger broadcasts for the Palestinian attacks on the Sinai agreement. Syria and Egypt—partners in the October 1973 war—have denounced each other on the floor of the United Nations. The Arab bloc at the UN has backed down from its earlier threats to demand Israel's expulsion or suspension from the world body. Under the leadership of Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud, the 40-nation Islamic conference retreated to a minimalist position with only two demands for the UN: the traditional call for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands (without serious sanctions for non-compliance), and a proposal to send a fact-finding mission to inspect Islamic shrines in Israel to see that they are properly preserved.

When historians look back on this period, the unity of 1973-74 may be more puzzling in retrospect than the disunity of 1975. The group of nations which recognized the authority of



the PLO to speak for the Palestinian people at last year's Rabat Arab summit ranged from sheikdoms which had only recently abolished slavery to radical nationalist and socialist regimes. Egypt's President Sadat in effect molded this unlikely coalition,

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SPAIN: ISOLATED ABROAD, DIVIDED AT HOME

## Ford Helps Franco Tough It Out

The Ford Administration has given a shot in the arm to the ailing Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco, at a time when his regime is facing internal divisions and foreign ostracism unprecedented since Spain's Civil War and its aftermath. The "agreement in principle" on continued U.S. use of American bases in Spain, and the administration's notable silence at the summary trials and executions of five Spanish guerrillas, sent Spain's foreign minister home from Washington "jubilant." He thanked the U.S. profusely for "an affirmation of friendship at a moment of extraordinary importance," and said Washington was "more respectful than ever of our political independence."

U.S. support for Franco has not been so critical since the original base agreement was signed with the outcast and collapsing Spanish regime in 1953. That agreement, according to its critics, gave the pariah regime sufficient respectability to keep Franco in power when his economy was stagnant, the country unreconstructed from the civil war, and his fascist rule discredited from alliance with Hitler and Mussolini in World War II. Since then, the U.S. has pumped more than \$3 billion in economic and military aid into Spain, as well as spending \$400 million to build its air and naval bases and untold millions more to support U.S. troops stationed there. According to administration sources, the new base agreement with Franco, to be finalized in about six weeks, will promise the Generalissimo

some \$750 million more in military aid.

Franco wanted twice that amount—and the impossible dream of a mutual defense treaty with the U.S., which would have no chance of Congressional approval. Franco's fallback position of entrance into NATO has strong U.S. backing, but was virtually foreclosed by the Western European outcry over the summary trials and executions.

Administration officials argue that Washington's silence over the executions was necessary to secure the continued use of the U.S. bases in Spain, which they say are of decisive importance for Western military power in the Mediterranean and Middle East. But this reasoning has not been persuasive to Europeans. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker reported from Rome Oct. 3 that "the net effect of the American silence is that the United States once again appears to have been in support of, or at least not opposed to, the repressions of dictatorships like that of Franco, or the late and unlamented Greek colonels, or even the brutal regime of General Pinochet in Chile." And the *Times* editorialized that the renewal of the base agreement is a move "the world will inevitably regard as an effort to prop up an increasingly repressive regime and an unacceptable relic of World War II fascism."

The Ford Administration's decision to throw a liferaft to the drowning Franco dictatorship apparently reflects a cold calculation

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# Spain

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tion of long-term national security interests as well as Kissinger's easy coexistence with authoritarian regimes. But the Western European governments, which have almost unanimously condemned Franco's latest acts of repression, are also looking to the future—and that future is a Spain without Franco. Western European governments—acting under strong public pressure in withdrawing their ambassadors from Madrid and voting to suspend free trade talks between the Common Market and Spain—do not want to be identified with Franco after he leaves the scene. They warned Washington, to no avail, that Franco's opponents at home would remember the support given to the dictator by the U.S., just as the Greek people still resent the CIA's role in creating and maintaining the military junta.

And Western European governments do not want another Portugal. They hope that Franco will go soon, before the Spanish public is pushed too far to the left and while the "moderate" forces still have a chance to take control of post-Franco Spain, create a parliamentary democracy, prevent radical change, and maintain and expand a capitalist economy.

tion" would mean is itself very uncertain.

The army is thought to be sharply divided. All of Franco's generals fought in the Civil War and none are identified with radical politics. But some are in favor of less authoritarian rule over the political and economic life of the country. Franco fired his chief of staff last year for advocating "liberalization" of government policies. Some 500 to 1,000 younger officers, secretly organized in a group reportedly called the Democratic Military Union (UMD), are considered more radical. The regime has arrested 14 junior officers so far this year—3 on Oct. 9—in an effort to crush the UMD.

Franco's policies have also been attacked from the right by military men and police who are calling for an even harsher crackdown on urban guerrillas for killing policemen. And recently formed paramilitary fascist groups—such as the Warriors for Christ the King, which is thought responsible for the killing of the brother of a Basque nationalist leader on Oct. 5—reportedly have secret connections with the police.

In any case, the Spanish army is not the Portuguese army. The Portuguese army developed its opposition to Portugal's fascist regime while fighting its unending and unwinnable colonial wars in Africa. Many of the officers and men



opponents. On a much quieter and more radical level, hundreds of priests are known to be cooperating with the clandestine Communist party in setting up the "workers commissions" which have taken control of a majority of the state-sponsored trade unions.

And the Communist party itself is very strong underground, and like the Portuguese Communist party, figures to be an extremely important political force in a post-fascist era. Exiled Communist party leader Santiago Carrillo was recently described as having a power base stronger than any other of Franco's political rivals. The Communist party has played the leading role in the Junta Democrática, formed last year, which is a coalition of Communists, liberal bankers, monarchists, democratic lawyers, Popular Socialists, and other non-communist opponents of the Franco regime.

And besides the Basque nationalist movement, led by the Marxist ETA—and similar if less militant separatist movements in other parts of Spain—there is the maoist Anti-Fascist Patriotic Revolutionary Front (FRAP). It was three members of FRAP who were executed Sept. 27 along with two members of the ETA.

Beyond the organized left and center-left, there is a general leftist sympathy among a large part of Spain's youth, which the *Washington Post* said last July "reverses Salvador Allende, admires Fidel Castro, adores the Portuguese revolution, and distrusts the U.S. and the CIA."

Besides these left forces, there are the rightists outside the military and police who want a return to unopposed authoritarianism, and capitalist interests whose main concern is freeing the economy from the red tape and restrictions that have continued to shackle foreign and domestic investment since the liberalization in the late '50s of Franco's rigid corporate state economy.

The real strength of the various forces and their foreign friends—which are now jockeying for position—will not be known until Franco is gone. —BG



Paris: demonstrators denounce execution of Spanish guerrillas

The "feeling that Franco has overstayed his welcome," the *Wall Street Journal* reports, "is said to be spreading throughout Spanish society." And *U.S. News and World Report* says simply that "the reign of Francisco Franco" may be "drawing to a violent close."

How that end will come, short of Franco's death or abdication, is just speculation. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported Oct. 7 that "intervention by the army now is thought likely as the situation in Spain continues to deteriorate and the country is increasingly isolated abroad." But what military "interven-

gained their political education from their adversaries, adopting the Marxist politics of the liberation movements and returning home determined to transform Portugal into a socialist state.

The other main pillar of the Franco regime, the Catholic church, has also become increasingly divided with hundreds of priests in virtual open opposition to Franco. Last week, an auxiliary Bishop of Madrid had to leave hurriedly for the Vatican after five priests were arrested for reading a letter he wrote condemning the guerrilla violence but also the summary trials and executions of Franco's political



# Portugal: Discord in the Ranks

For the first time since they took power in a coup last year, Portugal's armed forces are becoming sharply polarized into left- and right-wing camps. Political divisions have existed within the military before, but the deep split that has emerged recently is unprecedented and it could provide the basis for a future civil war in Portugal. One of the country's best known radical units—the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment—last week warned of the possibility of such a war, vowing that they would not fight against other Portuguese soldiers.

This polarization of the military has developed in the weeks following the establishment of Portugal's sixth provisional government in 18 months—a government controlled by the Socialist and center-right Popular Democratic parties. The formation of the new government Sept. 19 was a blow to the Communist party, which had dominated the preceding cabinet. With only one minister in the new government, the Communists have gone into a kind of semi-opposition. Together with groups of the far left and radical soldiers and officers, they are deeply suspicious that the government will take a sharp right turn, wiping out gains which they made over the last year.

It is commonly said that no one knows just where the rank and file soldiers would line up if Portugal's political strife did deteriorate into civil war. But when the new government put units in the capital to the test Sept. 29, ordering them to occupy leftist radio stations, it became clear that the soldiers would not carry out orders which go against their basic political beliefs.

This brief mutiny was followed by protests and agitation in barracks around the country by leftists opposing the transfer of other radical soldiers. The hottest confrontation was in the northern city of Oporto, where the conservative com-

mander disbanded a rebellious military unit, provoking leftist soldiers to occupy a nearby artillery base.

Unrest in the armed forces has crystallized in a new underground organization of rank and file soldiers called United Soldiers Will Win (its initials in Portuguese are SUV). The military group showed surprising strength late last month, mobilizing 5,000 uniformed soldiers for an anti-government demonstration. The SUV is a symbol to the government of its deteriorating hold on the armed forces. The appearance of the SUV is one of the main factors which convinced Prime Minister Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo of the need for a crackdown in the military. But with underlying political issues unresolved, the crackdown has only increased the protest.

Ever since last year's coup, rank and file soldiers have been accustomed to agitating and discussing, holding meetings and issuing statements. As long as the pro-Communist government of Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves was in power, the soldiers did not run into head-on conflict with authorities. Now that the moderate and center-right forces have taken over, political agitation in the barracks is regarded as something akin to treason.

Although it undermines the operational capacity of the armed forces, independent political action in the barracks is hard to eliminate. It grows out of the history of the Armed Forces Movement which came together last year to take the highly political step of ending 50 years of fascist rule in Portugal. That experience—and a series of right-wing coup attempts that followed—convinced many of the young soldiers and officers that they have a key political role to play in shaping Portugal's future and preventing a return to fascism. Some observers believe this independence among the soldiers will prevent a Chile-style right-wing military take-

over in Portugal.

But not all soldiers back the left. Some support calls for a return to orthodox discipline and an end to political activity in the barracks. After finding that units in the capital could not be relied on, the Azevedo government has begun strengthening its ties with the conservative wing of the military. That is the apparent meaning of plans announced Sept. 25 to form a Military Intervention Group with direct responsibility to the president, as a possible replacement for the radical COPCON internal security command. On Oct. 3, the Socialists held a rally to support a commando unit which has a right-wing reputation. The Socialists made it clear that they see the commandos as a counter to leftist units.

The lines were drawn more sharply by Socialist and Popular Democratic party claims that the left was planning a coup in Portugal on the night of Oct. 1. The warning was made as columns of farmers and workers were arriving in Lisbon for a pro-Communist trade union confederation rally. The two parties refused to give details or explain where they learned of the alleged coup plans, and there has been no evidence so far to indicate that such a plot was afoot. The charges were supported by the commander of the northern military region, while the COPCON internal security command called them part of a "carefully orchestrated campaign" against the left.

A Socialist spokesperson told the *New York Times* Oct. 3 that the charge was made after "someone got over-excited" at the party's newspaper. High-ranking Socialist leaders were described by the *Times* as "less assertive" about the coup charges "than they were skeptical and rueful."

But the Socialists and Popular Democrats officially stuck by their story—claiming that only their quick action saved the country from a coup by ultra-leftists and certain Lisbon military units—all under the guidance of the CIA. Leftists inside and outside the military are bitter over the charges and have hardened their stand against the government.

The government in turn seems determined to force acceptance of its political views in the name of discipline, when there is as yet no real political consensus in Portugal. The result: each crackdown has deepened the opposition, to the point where radical soldiers are holding meetings to discuss whether the time has come to hand out arms to the population to ward off a return of fascism. —JA



Troops and supporters outside Lisbon's radical Light Artillery Regiment

# The Battle for Southern Africa

Next to the Middle East, southern Africa is perhaps the most explosive region in the world. There is a guerrilla war against the white-minority regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and a civil war among three rival independence movements in Angola. There is armed resistance in Namibia (South West Africa) to South African rule. And in South Africa itself there is a smoldering racial and class conflict—which if it ever erupts could engulf the whole region.

Cheap labor, oil, gold, diamonds, uranium and coal have attracted heavy foreign investment to the area. The U.S. and NATO have stepped up their contacts with South Africa, whose strategic location on the shipping routes between the Atlantic ocean and the oil-rich Persian Gulf has become increasingly vital to the West. The Soviet Union and China have also become involved in the region.

The end of Portuguese colonial rule in southern Africa, the emergence of a Marxist regime in Mozambique, and the prospect of an independent black-ruled Angola have altered the balance of forces so drastically that South Africa's once implacable white-minority regime is seeking "dialogue and detente" with the region's black governments. Some, such as Zambia's Pres. Kenneth Kaunda, have responded eagerly to South Africa's overtures. Others, including guerrillas in Rhodesia and black nationalists in South Africa, have bitterly rejected detente with the apartheid regime—arguing that armed struggle and diplomatic confrontation is the only realistic path to independence and black majority rule throughout southern Africa.

**ANGOLA:** With just four weeks left before the scheduled date of Angola's independence (Nov. 11), the Portuguese are trying to resurrect a coalition government of nationalist forces to which they can hand over power as they withdraw

their 24,000 troops. An earlier coalition collapsed under the strain of factional warfare among the three rival Angolan liberation movements, and last August Portugal reluctantly resumed administrative control of Angola.

But now the Portuguese are making a last-ditch effort to put together even the facade of a coalition government just to make it through independence day. The Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, Adm. Leonel Cardoso, on Oct. 4 named members of each of the three liberation groups as ministers without portfolio in a newly-constituted Angolan government.

The Organization of African Unity is also doing everything in its power to compel the three movements to agree to a truce and forge a temporary working alliance. Representatives of the Angolan groups went to Kampala, Uganda, to discuss these matters with OAU officials, and on Oct. 3 an OAU spokesperson expressed optimism that an accord could be reached among the three warring factions before Nov. 11.

But even if they do manage to negotiate a cease-fire and hammer out a political structure that allows Angola to have a government on independence day, the agreement is almost certain to break down shortly thereafter in sectarian fighting. The deep political divisions among the movements appear irreconcilable.

The leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto is currently in the strongest position militarily and politically of the three rivals. The MPLA has undisputed control of the capital of Luanda (pop. 280,000) and claims to control 11 of the country's 16 provinces. MPLA forces dominate much of central and eastern Angola, occupy the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda—where Gulf Oil continues to extract 100,000 barrels of crude a day—and hold most of the cities along the central coast, including the vital ports of Lobito and Benguela.

A *New York Times* correspondent reported from Luanda Sept. 22 that MPLA partisans in the capital frequently "wear Che Guevara-style beards" and "greet visitors and each other with 'soul brother' handshakes." The correspondent said the MPLA had "won a reputation for efficiency and discipline," having "organized political units that are running hospitals, trying to clear the port traffic and holding consciousness-raising sessions."

The MPLA receives Soviet and Eastern European weapons and has the backing of

most socialist and Third World countries, including FRELIMO in Mozambique.

The rival National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) is supported by Zaire, the United States, and China. Led by Holden Roberto, the FNLA is based in neighboring Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) and dominates northern Angola. Roberto is the brother-in-law of Zaire's pro-western president Sese Seko Mobutu.

A special front-page report by Leslie Gelb in the *New York Times* Sept. 25 quoted "four official sources in Washington" as saying that the CIA sent arms and money to Roberto's group from 1962 until 1969 and resumed shipments last spring in order to try to thwart the left-wing MPLA. According to Gelb, most of the CIA aid is sent to the FNLA by way of Zaire's Mobutu, who is described as the African leader Sec. of State Kissinger is counting on to defend American interests in the region. Chinese advisors have trained and armed FNLA troops in Zaire.



President Mobutu: Kissinger's man in Africa

The third Angolan movement is the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi who broke away from the FNLA in the mid-sixties, accusing Roberto of "flagrant tribalism." UNITA has long maintained a base in southern Angola among the Ovimbundus, the largest single ethnic group in the country comprising about 40% of the total African population. UNITA also controls the city of Nova Lisboa, which has the heaviest concentration of Portuguese settlers. The *Times* article says that UNITA has also been receiving covert CIA support since last spring.

**RHODESIA:** Since the dismal failure last August of the much-heralded black-white conference at Victoria Falls, Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith has tried two different approaches. First, his white-minority regime announced sweeping new







Rhodesia's prime minister Ian Smith and Bishop Abel Muzorewa

measures to escalate its counterinsurgency war against African guerrilla forces fighting for black majority rule. This month the government began calling up all men between the ages of 25 and 38 to serve in the army or in a newly-formed special police unit. The Smith regime is also reportedly considering installing an electronic alarm system along its north-eastern border with Mozambique in an attempt to halt guerrilla infiltration. And the government has reversed a long-time policy of trying to hush-up the guerrilla war by launching a major publicity campaign about the fighting. For the first time regular reports on Rhodesian television bring the guerrilla conflict into the living rooms of white residents of the capital of Salisbury.

At the same time, Smith—under continuing pressure from South Africa—has made a number of conciliatory statements. During the annual congress of his ruling Rhodesian Front party in late September, he successfully won support for some form of continued talks with African leaders, telling an extreme right-wing faction of the party that they should rally to his side "even though you may be exasperated and disillusioned by detente." In an interview in Salisbury on Sept. 19 with the Associated Press, Smith said he could foresee the possibility that Rhodesia would one day have a black prime minister and a multiracial cabinet. Although he gave no date for its implementation, he said that eventual power-sharing with blacks is "absolutely logical ... I have no hesitation in telling you that it is my desire to bring this about."

Rhodesia's African nationalist leaders living in forced exile charge that Smith is preparing to negotiate and form a coalition government with "sell-out black leaders" inside the country. That charge was made by the Bishop Abel Muzorewa/Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole faction of the African National Council, naming Joshua Nkomo (the head of the rival ANC faction inside Rhodesia) as the black leader with whom Smith will bargain.

Bishop Muzorewa, the president of the

ANC, expelled Nkomo from the coalition Sept. 12 after Nkomo unilaterally announced plans to hold an ANC convention in Salisbury, where it was impossible for Muzorewa and other exiled leaders to attend. But Nkomo went ahead with his conference anyway and now there are two separate rival factions of the ANC.

The Smith regime got unexpected support from Congress Sept. 25 when the House rejected by a vote of 209 to 197 a bill that would have repealed the Byrd amendment. The amendment authorizes the U.S. government to purchase chrome from Rhodesia in violation of UN sanctions against trade with the Smith regime. Earlier the *New York Times* editorialized: "If the bill to negate the Byrd amendment fails, Washington will encounter greater difficulty in persuading the non-white world that this country genuinely defends racial equality, self-determination, majority rule and the rule of law in international affairs."

**NAMIBIA:** South African police and army units have staged a major crackdown in the two months following the Aug. 16 assassination of Filemon Flifas, a bantustan chief who was widely despised for his close cooperation with the South African regime. South Africa has illegally occupied Namibia since its trusteeship was terminated by the UN in 1966. At least 22 members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) have been arrested. SWAPO is the leading liberation movement in Namibia—fighting for black majority rule by the territory's 800,000 Africans. There are 90,000 white settlers in the mineral-rich country.

In the midst of the crackdown—which included the arrest of four Lutheran ministers and raids on several churches—South African authorities convened a conference on Sept. 1 in Windhoek of 156 tribal delegates. The conference was rejected as illegitimate and unrepresentative by SWAPO and by the United Nations which has repeatedly called on South Africa to grant the territory independence.

The hand-picked and carefully super-

vised delegates condemned the use of violence to change the existing order in Namibia and resolved to draft a new constitution "without discrimination merely on the basis of race, color, or creed"—sometime in the next three years.

**ZAMBIA:** Pres. Kaunda continues to be South Africa's prime partner in detente—maintaining his crackdown against the forces of SWAPO and ZANU (the main Rhodesian guerrilla group) which once found sanctuary on Zambian soil.

A strong motivating force behind Kaunda's cooperation with South Africa is Zambia's economic plight. The country is desperate for outlets to the sea for its major export, copper. Zambia's normal trade routes through Rhodesia and war-torn Angola are currently blocked. However, Zambia is expected to find some relief from the Chinese-built and financed Tan-zam railway which links land-locked Zambia with Tanzania's Indian Ocean port of Dar Es Salaam. The 1,200-mile main line is scheduled to begin carrying passengers and freight this month, although it will not be fully operational for another year.

**MOZAMBIQUE:** The new FRELIMO government is also trying to contend with severe economic problems that have hampered its political freedom. Despite its well-known hostility toward South Africa's apartheid regime, the FRELIMO government is still allowing its workers to migrate to South Africa to labor in the gold mines. Mozambique says it cannot tolerate more unemployment at this time and that it needs the gold which South Africa remits as part of the pay earned by the Mozambican miners.

In a speech to the UN General Assembly, Mozambique's Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano pledged to blockade Rhodesia in accordance with UN sanctions. It is an open secret that Mozambique will provide new bases for Rhodesian guerrillas ousted from Zambia.

And **SOUTH AFRICA**—which has masterminded the detente strategy as a means to preserve its own apartheid system and achieve economic hegemony over an integrated, stable southern Africa region—is having its own financial problems. Plagued by rampant inflation, the government and top business and labor leaders signed an anti-inflation agreement Oct. 7 which pledges reduced government spending, a wage-price freeze and a 15% limit on profits. The document said inflation—exacerbated by South Africa's devaluation of its currency last month by 17.9%—presented a danger to the country's social and economic stability and warned: "temporary sacrifices will have to be made by all."

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# internewsroundupinternewsroundup

## PRODUCER-CONSUMER PARLEY SET

The rich, industrialized nations are slated to sit down with oil producers and developing Third World countries Oct. 13 to resume the dialogue on energy and Third World problems which fell apart last spring. The meeting, put together by French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, is a preparatory session for a full-dress producer-consumer conference, now expected to open in Dec.

The original preparatory meeting broke down last April when the industrialized countries—led by the U.S.—rejected Third World demands that the energy dialogue be widened to include other raw materials and problems of development. Since then, Sec. of State Kissinger has altered his position, publicly accepting the idea of an expanded conference. The session will set up four commissions, dealing with energy, other raw materials, development, and monetary and financial questions. It will also approve a list of additional countries for the Dec. conference.

Ten delegations, all of which attended last April's abortive session, have agreed to participate in the Oct. 13 meeting. They are the U.S., Japan, and the European Common Market, representing the industrialized consuming nations; Saudi Arabia, Iran, Algeria and Venezuela, representing the oil producers; and Brazil, India and Zaire, representing the developing nations. A bid by Britain Oct. 9 for separate seating could sidetrack the session, provoking requests from other countries for independent representation.

## STUDY BLAMES U.S. FOR 15,000 DEATHS

At least 15,000 Cambodians died of starvation or malnutrition-related diseases in the last four months of the war because the United States put military aid to the faltering Phnom Penh regime far ahead of food relief, according to a study by the Indochina Resource Center in Washington. "The American determination to carry on the war as long as possible was . . . the fundamental reason for the failure to alleviate the starvation," the study concluded. Authors Gareth Porter and George Hildebrand criticized the State Dept. for saying there were "physical limitations" on the amount of rice and medicines that could be airlifted into besieged Phnom Penh—noting that the U.S. was flying 565 tons of ammunition into the city each day during the final weeks of the war.

The study also challenged assertions by Sec. of State Kissinger and other officials that the evacuation of the capital by Khmer Rouge forces after their victory was an "atrocious." "Available evidence shows that the evacuation was ordered in response to certain urgent and fundamental needs of the Cambodian population and that it was carried out only after careful planning for provision of food, water, rest and medical care," the study asserted.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk offered the same explanation in an interview with *Newsday* just before his speech to the UN General Assembly on Oct. 6. The Cambodian head of state said: "After five years of warfare and virtual siege, the population of Phnom Penh had to be moved out quickly to the countryside to avert famine. Now about 100,000 have returned to the city—mostly industrial workers and office personnel—to restore public services and run what will be essentially an administrative center for the country. The others are spread about in the provinces learning how to be farmers."

In his speech, which received a standing ovation, Sihanouk said agriculture ("our primary resource") and related industry would be the focus of Cambodia's reconstruction. He predicted

that by the end of 1976 Cambodia would be exporting rice.

## ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT IN ROME

On the night of October 6, prominent Chilean exile Bernard Leighton and his wife were shot and seriously wounded outside their home in Rome. The 66-year-old Leighton was a founder of Chile's Christian Democratic party and served as vice-president during the regime of Eduardo Frei. A leader of the left wing of the Christian Democrats, he has publicly attacked the junta and has worked for cooperation between the Christian Democrats and the parties of the Popular Unity. The Italian police have been unable to identify the assassin, but prominent leaders of the Christian Democratic left charge that the attack was the work of an extreme right-wing organization—the same group that carried out the successful assassination of Gen. Carlos Prats in Argentina a year ago.

Friends of Leighton in Rome say that Pedro Ewing, head of Chile's dreaded national intelligence agency, the DINA, and Juan Luis Bulnes Ossa, Chilean fascist youth leader, arrived in Rome on the day of the assassination attempt. Bulnes Ossa was also reportedly in Buenos Aires at the time of the Prats assassination. Chilean leftists say he is part of a band of terrorists used by the junta to eliminate opponents abroad.

Meanwhile in Chile last week, the junta moved against the only organization which has consistently managed to aid Chilean prisoners and their families, the Committee for Peace. A leader of the committee, Lutheran bishop Helmut Frenz, who was out of the country, was denied permission to return to Chile Oct. 3. Other members of the committee have been arrested in recent weeks.

## CRACKDOWN ON U.S. OIL COMPANY

In a major dispute with Occidental Petroleum Corp., the Libyan government has banned the U.S. multinational from exporting any crude or refined oil and announced that it is willing to take over supplying Occidental's consumers. In a communiqué issued Oct. 9, the Libyan Ministry of Petroleum said that Occidental had "refused to pay money owed to the ministry."

The company admits that it is withholding some \$440 million it owes to Libya pending settlement of a \$1 billion suit charging Libyan violation of its contract with Occidental. The company says that Libya is also preventing 520 foreign employees of Occidental, including 230 Americans, from leaving the country. The State Dept. has confirmed the charge.

Most of Occidental's crude oil comes from Libya and the company's dependence on the country has made it vulnerable to government pressure. On Sept. 1 the government ordered Occidental and other foreign oil companies to cut back production—a move that hit Occidental the hardest and led to the company's suit.

Occidental has had a stormy career in the international oil industry for many years. Its chairman, Armand Hammer, has long negotiated trade deals between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and earlier this month he was convicted of trying to cover up \$54,000 in illegal personal contributions to former president Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Hammer has also been accused of paying more than \$3 million in bribes and campaign contributions to Venezuelan government officials.



Occidental Chrm. Hammer



The charge was made in a suit filed Oct. 8 by Occidental's former general manager in Venezuela.

## U.S. SEEKING GRAIN-FOR-OIL DEAL WITH SOVIETS?

Pres. Ford officially confirmed Oct. 9 that the U.S. is negotiating with the Soviet Union not only for grain, but also for oil.

**oil** "Whether or not the two will be tied together," he said, "is not finally decided yet." Speculation that the U.S. is seeking an oil deal with Moscow arose when it was learned that an energy expert had accompanied the high-level U.S. delegation sent to Moscow to discuss long-term Soviet grain purchases.

The Soviet Union is now the world's largest oil producer, just ahead of the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. But nearly all Soviet oil is domestically consumed or exported to Eastern Europe. U.S. officials do not foresee an immediate shift in this pattern, and only hope to arrange purchase of a few hundred thousand barrels of oil a day from the Soviet Union, equal to about 5 percent of current U.S. imports.

Nevertheless, administration officials believe that a long-term oil agreement with the Soviet Union could have an important impact on U.S. relations with the OPEC countries. They believe the Soviet Union could provide a stable source of oil at a time when the Arab members of OPEC have shown a willingness to use oil as a political weapon; that Soviet oil could allow the U.S. to reduce its dependence on OPEC; and that it could provide downward pressure on OPEC prices. For Moscow, the officials say, a long-term oil deal could increase U.S. dependence on the Soviet Union and tie Washington more firmly into detente.

## CRISIS DEEPENS—NO SOLUTION IN SIGHT

After six weeks of fighting between left-wing Moslems and right-wing Christians, Lebanon is closer to the brink of civil war than ever before. Half a dozen cease-fires have failed to restore calm for more than a few days, and the government's credibility has been eroded by its unwarranted optimism.

**lebanon** Syrian leaders have continued to consult with the Lebanese government, and Kuwait has called for an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab League to discuss the deteriorating situation. Although the Palestine Liberation Organization has continued to keep out of the conflict, its members and offices have been the targets of right-wing attacks with increasing frequency. An ominous report from Beirut October 9 quoted informed political sources as saying that 106 mutilated bodies—"all Moslems and many of them non-Lebanese"—had been found piled under a bridge in the harbor area of Beirut the

preceding weekend, but authorities have been mute about the potentially explosive incident.

Moslem Prime Minister Rashid Karami is repeatedly rumored to be on the verge of resignation. If he quits his post, it is almost certain that the army will be called in to restore order. Karami is the leading opponent of such a move. He fears it will only aggravate the crisis because the Moslem community views the army's predominantly Christian officer corps as biased in favor of the right-wing.

## INDONESIAN ATTACK REPULSED

Fretilin, the leftist Front for the Independence of East Timor, protested to the UN Oct. 8 that the Indonesian armed forces had launched a ground, air, and naval attack on the East Timor port city of Batugade. Fretilin said the attackers were later driven back. Indonesia denied the charge, saying the assault was carried out by joint forces of two



Fretilin Pres. Xavier do Amaral

anticommunist pro-Indonesia East Timor groups, Apodeti and the Timor Democratic Union (UDT), which were preparing to "liberate" the rest of the Portuguese colony. Fretilin said that UDT and Apodeti forces were involved in the attack, but that more than 100 Indonesian regulars had crossed the border from Indonesian West Timor with them to lead the assault.

According to Fretilin, the attackers were backed by bombing and strafing from Indonesian jet fighters and helicopter gunships, and shelling from an Indonesian destroyer off the coast. Fretilin has controlled East Timor since late August after defeating the UDT, which had launched a coup against the Portuguese authorities Aug. 11 and tried to destroy Fretilin. Indonesia's military rulers have reconstituted and armed the vanquished remnants of the UDT and Apodeti, apparently hoping they will act as a cover for an Indonesian takeover of the Portuguese colony. Indonesia has taken a public stand of non-intervention unless requested by Portugal, but also has warned it would not tolerate an independent East Timor under leftist control. Fretilin secretary-general Jose Ramos Horta charged Oct. 9 that the Indonesian attack on Batugade was an attempt to disrupt talks planned between Portugal and Fretilin over the colony's future.

photo/National Times

## INTERNEWSITEMSINTERNEWSITEMSINTERNEWSITEMSINTERNEWSITEMSINTERNEWSITEMSINTERNEWSITEMSINTER

**BRIBES:** Previously secret Defense Dept. reports show that five agents of U.S. firms operating in the Mideast were paid at least \$18.7 million to secure military sales since 1973. (*Washington Post* 9/29) • **CHILE:** On a visit to Chile last week, Gen. Denis McAuliffe, head of the U.S. Southern Command, reportedly told junta chief Pinochet that he found Chile "serene and tranquil" and that the U.S. army "will continue to do everything possible to help the Chilean armed forces." (*Latin America* 10/3) Chile has put the Organization of American States on the spot by offering to be the site of the next OAS assembly. (Agence France Presse 10/9) • **PANAMA:** The House backed down from its total opposition to Panama Canal talks, but still passed a "sense of Congress" resolution saying the the State Dept. should protect the "vital interests" of the U.S. in any new canal treaty. (*New York Times* 10/8) • **LABOR:** Developing countries have to create more than a billion jobs over the next 25 years to overcome unemployment and give work to newcomers to the labor force, according to the International Labor Organization. (Reuter 10/4) • **CHINA:** The Bank of America has become the second U.S. bank, following Chase Manhattan, to establish a non-trade, correspondent banking relationship with China. (*Wall Street Journal* 10/8) • **S.E. ASIA:** Thai

and Malaysian troops began a drive against guerrillas who have stepped up operations on both sides of their common border this year. (Reuter 10/4) • **N. VIETNAM:** Japan will shortly open an embassy in Hanoi at the same time it signs an agreement to send North Vietnam \$28.3 million in economic aid, according to Japanese officials. (UPI 10/2) • **PERSIAN GULF:** Bahrain has asked the U.S. for the second time to stop using the tiny Persian Gulf island as a naval base. (AP 9/30) • **GERMANY:** The Soviet Union and East Germany signed a new friendship treaty, acknowledging the permanent East-West division of Germany. (*New York Times* 10/8) • **SUMMIT:** The leading industrial nations will hold an economic summit shortly before Christmas to discuss world economic and financial problems, development aid and energy and monetary issues. (Reuter 10/7) • **NAMIBIA (SOUTHWEST AFRICA):** A special UN conference on Namibia will be held Jan. 7-9 in Dakar, Senegal, to highlight offenses committed by South Africa, which administers the territory in defiance of UN resolutions. (Reuter 9/29) • **SOUTH AFRICA:** South Africa's Atomic Energy Board has been cooperating with a West German firm on a joint study of uranium enrichment, and is considering the sale of nuclear power plants in Pretoria. (AFP 10/6)

# Mideast

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and King Faisal of oil-rich Saudi Arabia paid for it. Sadat's predecessor, President Nasser, had called for the overthrow of the Saudi monarchy throughout the fifties and sixties. Sadat patched up the differences between the two countries, moving Egypt closer to the camp of Arab conservatism. The rightward shift was partly obscured by Sadat's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization—proposing a mini-state for the PLO on the West Bank of the Jordan, and rejecting King Hussein's claim to that land.

The archconservative Faisal, though a longtime ally of Hussein, was obsessed with the need to recover the Moslem holy city of Jerusalem. He accepted the PLO as the worldly agents of this holy task—and the peculiar alliance of Sadat, Faisal and Yasser Arafat was born.

Since the assassination of Faisal last winter, his successors have charted a pragmatic course—dropping the old cry of "Liberate Jerusalem" for a behind-the-scenes role in Kissinger diplomacy. Along with Iran and Kuwait, Saudi Arabia has financed the rehabilitation of Jordan's King Hussein—putting up the cash for jets and missiles to upgrade the monarch's tarnished image.

After two months of tangling with Congress, the Ford administration has made a \$350 million deal with Hussein to exchange 14 Hawk anti-aircraft missile systems for Jordan's foreign aid money

from Saudi Arabia. Staunch supporters of Israel on Capitol Hill feared that Hussein would use the missiles aggressively against Israel, but the deal was eventually sold to Congress as a key step toward strengthening an old U.S. ally. Hussein took two opportunities in August to tell foreign correspondents that he had no intention of letting Palestinian guerrillas operate from his country. The *Los Angeles Times* reported August 8 that he bluntly told reporters, "The guerrillas will never be allowed to enter this country again. That's it. Full stop."

At present, Hussein's most important job is to persuade Syria to accept U.S. mediation if Secretary Kissinger puts forward proposals for the Golan Heights. So far, Syria's president and foreign minister have both categorically ruled out a second-stage Golan agreement. After meeting Kissinger at the UN October 1 Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam said the Sinai pact had "closed all the doors" to further step-by-step negotiations.

Some Arab commentators feel that Syria's attacks on the Sinai accord are really just a form of pressure on Egypt and the United States to prove their good intentions by getting talks started on the Syrian front. But there is no doubt that Syria does feel isolated by Egypt's separate peace and militarily vulnerable as long as Damascus is within range of Israeli artillery in the Golan Heights.

The Israelis have made clear they have no desire for speedy negotiations on the northern front, and they speak of "cosmetic changes" as the only possible alterations in the Golan borders.

Kissinger has hinted that a three-kilometer withdrawal could be the goal of renewed Syrian-Israeli negotiations. But Syria's President Hafez Assad rejects "partial" solutions as unacceptable. "If I held a referendum for my people on a three-kilometer withdrawal," he told the *New York Times* September 28, "it wouldn't get ten votes. We can do without the three kilometers till the time Israel withdraws from all of Golan. The territory is not necessary for our economy. It is necessary for our national dignity."

The toughest question to evaluate is Assad's support for the Palestinians. Syria has been the most consistent backer of the PLO among the countries bordering on Israel, and President Assad declared October 6 that he wants no negotiations on the Golan Heights without concomitant talks on the Palestinian front—through the PLO. But the uneasy rapprochement between Syria and Jordan has produced no change in King Hussein's negative attitude toward the PLO. In the course of the Sinai negotiations, the State

Department reassured Israel that the U.S. would not recognize the PLO unless it recognizes Israel. With Egypt's relations with the PLO at an all-time low, Syria will be fighting an up-hill battle just trying to maintain the position of support for the Palestinians that was ostensibly unanimous Arab League policy a short time ago.

Western diplomats in Israel indicated October 7 that the U.S. hopes to start peace talks on the Golan Heights before the UN peacekeeping mandate there expires November 30. But if the U.S. makes any offer to Syria in the weeks ahead, it will probably take the form of pressure on Israel for a Golan withdrawal that is more than cosmetic—in return for Syrian abandonment of the PLO. The diplomatic formula will undoubtedly be more subtle—perhaps involving an eventual restoration of certain Palestinian "national rights" under the complicated auspices of King Hussein and other trustees acceptable to Washington. But Syria's ultimate choice will be stark—drop the Palestinian demands or face the risk of war without local allies or the diplomatic good will of the State Department.

—R.S.

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